AIM

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PEACE CANDIDATES CONVENE

POLICE BRUTALITY IN NEW HAVEN

Last December, several police officers arrived at the scene of a reported fight on Washington Avenue, New Haven, between a Negro man and his wife. Three policemen approached the unarmed man on the sidewalk and attempted to talk with him. He refused to cooperate, and a fight broke out between the three police officers and the man. Then two more police officers arrived and the fight began again. This incident was investigated by the Commission on Equal Opportunities (CEO). Their report follows:

> During the course of the fight, and while the five police officers were restraining C. 5 (the Negro man) the police struck him with their night sticks on his head and on his left eye. C. 5 was severely injured. C. 5 sustained a cerebral concussion, lacerations of the scalp, and contusions of his right arm. He required sutures over the left parietal region of the scalp and on the left frontal brow. He suffered subconjunctival hemmorage laterally in the left eye.
>
> The police did not give C. 5 any medical attention at the scene...

The Commission on Equal Opportunities, headed by three clergymen

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Robert M. Cook, Candidate for Congress, 3rd District, Connecticut

David Frost, Candidate for Senate from New Jersey

Stephen Minot, Candidate for Congress, 6th District, Connecticut

Thomas B. Adams, Candidate for Senate from Massachusetts

Julian Bond, Elected to Georgia House of Representatives

Ted Weiss, Candidate for Congress from New York City

Mel Dubin, Candidate for Congress from New York City

National SANE joins the sponsors of the Powder Hill Peace Conference. Tom Paxton will entertain. "Which Way the Wind?", a film on the bombing of Hiroshima has been provided by the American Friends Service Committee to be shown on August 6. A. J. Muste is bringing a group from the Fifth Avenue Protest March and the Columbia summer program. In addition to the PEACE CANDIDATES in the picture, several others will be at the conference: Jerry Wilson, Democratic nominee for the New York Legislature; John Joseph and Mr. Nicholsin, both running for Congress in New Jersey; and Eugene Daniel, running as Senator in New Hampshire. William Fitz Ryan, although he is unable to come because of prior commitments, expressed great interest and joy at the conference and wishes he could join the thousands of partisans of peace who will be at Powder Hill on August 6.

AIM

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Police Brutality cont.

from the Commission, interviewed all the people involved in this incident; however, "the police officers refused to make any statements or answer any questions before this Committee." This was the result of the feelings of Executive Secretary of the Police Union, Everett Shaw, who would not allow the policement to talk to the CEO. Shaw claimed that it wasn't their function. The policemen were certainly within their rights in refusing to answer. However, for the Police Union as a body to take this uncooperative attitude adds to the public's impression that police power is arbitrary and that the public does not have a right to investigate and judge police actions.

The CEO report concluded that the police officers

> ...used excessive force in restraining C. 5, particularly in view of the fact that there were five police officers arresting one unarmed man. The action of these five police officers in striking C. 5 repeatedly with the night sticks without first resorting to other methods and devices with which they had been trained was clearly improper and excessive.

This is not an isolated incident of police brutality: The CEO investigated another incident that same month. In addition there were the CORE arrests of May, 1965, that led to a hearing before the Board of Police Commissioners on police brutality. (As might have been expected, the policeman was exonerated.) And of course many cases of brutality go unreported--few are willing to brave the threat that "if you make a fuss we'll throw the book at you."

So it must first be recognized that police brutality does occur. The problem that then presents itself is twofold: First, how does one forestall police brutality, and generally improve police-community relations? Second, how does one deal with a policeman once he has used excessive force?

The causes of police brutality are often hard to isolate. Usually, they result when relations between the community and the police break down, and in New Haven, this results most often in minority group communities, especially the Negro and Puerto Rican areas. It is easy to see that in New Haven, police-community relations are not what they should be. For instance, the Journal-Courier of May 12, 1966, reported that 75-80 teenagers had stoned a police car--"No reason could be given for the outburst from the neighborhood children."...Then there was the failure of the recent police recruiting drive, reported on May 30th in the Journal-Courier. One explanation from officials concerned was that "the policeman is less respected in the community than many think he should be." Other examples of poor police-community relations are available. However, in order to remedy the situation it is more important to look at specific proposals by the Commission on Equal Opportunities which are supported by Bob Cook.

The CEO report recommends that minority group members should be recruited for civilian positions and higher staff positions within the Police Department--implying that the present situation is far from adequate.

The CEO report recommends the training period for recruits should be extended from the present eight week period to at least twelve weeks, and the training in the area of human relations should be expanded. Again the Police Department has made no indication that it is even considering this proposal. The CEO report recommends that, as vacancies occur, the Mayor appoint Police Commissioners sensitive to minority group problems. (The Mayor appoints the Commissioners every two years.) A look at the present Board of Police Commissioners will show why: There are six men on the Board; all are over fifty and white. They cannot be expected to have as much sympathy for Negro problems as might a more diversified group.

These are relatively long range proposals. On a shorter range, and to deal with such examples of police brutality as the one cited, it is felt that a strong statement (from the Mayor and the Chief of Police) to the effect that excessive force by police officers will be severely dealt with, would help deter such action. The passive attitude of these men on this topic can be taken in no other way but to condone the action of the policemen.

Further, it is recommended that prompt action be taken against offenders. The Chief of Police could have taken action against the men listed in the CEO report--he has the power to suspend men up to ten days. But he does not seem to feel that police brutality is possible on his force, and the worst punishment forthcoming from him was to relieve one man from street duty and put him behind a desk. Nor did the Police Chief himself bring action against the men called into question, (a power he holds,) thus assuring a fair hearing before the Board of Police Commissioners. The prosecutor against the policeman, the Corporation Counsel, (who usually presents the charges made by the Chief of Police,) represented no one in this case.

It is in this area--attitude and procedures within the Police Department--that the situation is gravest. It has been indicated that the cases reviewed by the CEO did lead to formal complaints being filed, and one was finally heard by the Board of Police Commissioners just recently, on July 12th (after being delayed twice at the request of the policeman's lawyer). The second case has just been scheduled.

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These delays indicate something of the Police Department's reluctance to try the men.

The policeman was exonerated but a quick look at the police procedures will show why: The private attornies of the complainants were not allowed to present their case. The man who was supposed to present the case against the policeman, the Corporation Counsel, also had jurisdiction over which material would be presented as evidence. The point that should be made is that the Corporation Counsel is a hired official of the city, and being in this position he is hardly an objective prosecutor for a case directed against a city department. Furthermore, nobody represented the complainants--they only appeared as witnesses. On the other hand, the policeman was allowed the use of an attorney.

In this way, internal procedures prevented a fair hearing of the case and the policeman was assured of being exonerated whether he was guilty or not. Perhaps appointing a Human Relations officer, as proposed by the CEO report, would alleviate the situation. A better proposal might be, as recommended by Bob Cook, the creation of a Civilian Review Board independent of the Police Department.

In any case, it is evident that the New Haven Police Force is in need of reform. Present procedures neither prevent police brutality nor deal with it effectively once it has happened. Furthermore, the Police Department has proved extremely reluctant to institute the reform measures that have been proposed. It is one more example of a bureaucracy unresponsive to the people it serves, a bureaucracy that perpetuates old procedure whether just or not. Pressure is needed on this front as on others to make an environment where government agencies respond to the needs of the people.

by Andrew Graham

PLEASE PASS THE AIM NEWSLETTER ON TO YOUR FRIENDS.

WAR CRIMES

Strange men have come from half way around the world to drop bombs on North Vietnamese cities and countryside. Thus the hatred of the North Vietnamese for Johnson and McNamara and their intense bitterness towards the captured American fliers is well-understandable.

North Vietnam has announced that it intends to try the captured fliers as "war criminals." The North Vietnamese have indicated, however, that even if convicted the fliers would not be executed.

Under the precedent set by the Nuernberg ("War Crimes") Tribunal, the fact that an act was done under military or governmental order is not a defense to a charge of "war crimes" or "crimes against peace." The crime for which the fliers probably would be tried is "wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity."

Anyone watching television knows of the destruction and devastation done in Vietnam. Whatever American military intentions may be, bombs and napalm fall on civilian centers and food supplies are systematically destroyed. The only military justification so far offered is the general idea that we shall make the war so costly for the other side, they will have to surrender. But it is precisely this method of waging war that was condemned at Nuernberg.

If the North Vietnamese go ahead with the trials, it will be the policies of Johnson and McNamara that will be on trial, for the fliers cannot be guilty unless the policies of Johnson violate international law.

Johnson, Rusk and many other high officials, including the so-called Senate "doves," have warned that a trial of the fliers would inflame American opinion and lead to a new escalation of the war. James Reston, the New York Times columnist, put his finger on the danger. Up to now, he said, the American people have been troubled about the war and have supported it very reluctantly. There has been no war hysteria, no burning desire to utterly destroy the enemy, no fanatical hatred. But, says Reston, the execution of the American fliers could change all that. And then there would be no limit to the escalation of the war. Therefore, he appeals to North Vietnam not to hold the trials.

But if the American people could become so incensed over the fate of these fliers, then must not the Vietnamese people, who have been

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3rd DISTRICT EVENTS

HAMDEN:

The Hamden Committee for Cook has been growing steadily and now has more than 20 members. A petition campaign has already been launched and more than 200 names have been obtained. The most important event to date will be the opening of a new Cook for Congress Handen-North Haven Volunteers Headquarters, 1242 Whitney Ave., Whitneyville, opposite the Congregational Church. An office warming celebration will be held on Monday, August 1st. Everyone is welcome--and, as for the opening of the original Cook office, everyone should try to bring something to help equip the Hamden headquarters. The Hamden-North Haven volunteers have raised some funds in order to open up this new office, but this is only a beginning and everyone is urged to help: Volunteers for helping to staff the headquarters are urgently needed, preferably if they come from the immediate area so that transportation will not be a problem. Contributions or loans of furniture (desks, tables, chairs, lamps, rugs), office equipment and funds are requested. Ideas are welcome! Volunteers and donors should contact Mr. Richard Mezzotero, 27 Malcolm Street, 248-2508. Checks should be sent to:

Cook for Congress
Hamden-North Haven Volunteers
1242 Whitney Avenue, Hamden

GUILFORD:

The Guilford Committee for Cook has also organized a petition campaign. All interested volunteers should contact Mrs. Mary Jane Mills of North River Street, Guilford, telephone: 453-3706.

control their own school boards, for example. With the achievement of such control, Negroes can become truly equal--and integration then becomes relevant, meaningful.

None of this thinking is new in SNCC. "Pro-black" has never meant "anti-white"--unless whites make it so. We continue to believe, as always, that SNCC's leadership must be black. We have concluded that Negroes make the best organizers in Southern Negro communities because they encourage the idea that Negroes can do something for themselves. This releases the energy and creativity which produce change.

SNCC is now working in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas and North Carolina on programs which emphasize voter registration, political education and organizing, within the context of what the black community needs. We are working to get more federal registrars: at present only 9* out of 600 counties have them. We are also working in the specific areas of jobs, housing, schools, and segregated public facilities. We are, for example, helping Negro communities to start their own co-ops and credit unions, to improve Negro schools, to create or win new jobs. We are expanding our program of mobilizing and recruiting Southern Negro college students and we are developing new programs for staff education in such areas as international affairs. Our extensive work with the California grape strikers of the National Farm Workers Association represents another new direction, as does our first experiment in urban organizing, in Atlanta.

Today SNCC's field secretaries face even greater danger and poverty than before. As Negroes register to vote and begin to organize, white resistance stiffens. Any Negro who runs for office faces loss of job, eviction from his home, death itself. SNCC works full-time to overcome the genuine fear created by white racists. We need and welcome the support of everyone, white and black, North and South.

*as of June, 1966. This figure fluctuates somewhat.

SDS STATEMENT ON SNCC

The following resolution on SNCC was passed by the SDS National Council, which met at the University of Michigan, June 17-19, 1966.

SDS has long maintained fraternal relations with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Now that SNCC is under fire from a variety of liberal organizations and publications we feel a special urgency to restate our support. Let it be clear that we are not merely supporting SNCC's right to its views, we are welcoming and supporting the thrust of SNCC's program, and expect to continue our joint work.

SNCC has emphasized "black power." This is not a magic charm or a promised land; it is a strategy for social change and a mode of organization. Both the strategy and the mode become clear if the United States is understood as an essentially racist culture. Yet at the same time Negroes have been an exploited caste, they have been taught to seek their salvation in integration--that is, in an accommodation to the dominant social values, under white leadership.

We know that not all SNCC's critics resemble George Wallace; that is precisely why we try to lay bare the liberal assumptions that lead to attacks on SNCC. We are struck with the fact that among the critics are liberals vociferous in their praise of an America in which minorities organize themselves and preserve their cultural integrity. They are now denouncing SNCC's "black consciousness" as "racism in reverse." We doubt these critics would find themselves so upset if SNCC sought to accept the major premises of American life; it is precisely because SNCC is revolutionary--because it is trying to bring about a fundamental rearrangement of power in America --that they shrink in horror.

Racism and economic exploitation confront Negroes as a group, together. So, of course, Negroes, especially in the Southern black belt and the Northern ghettoes, must act as a group in order to challenge their condition. This is not "racism in reverse" any more than American revolutionists were "colonialists in reverse." It is a recognition of the fact of common identity and the beginnings of a strategy for change. We must not simply tolerate this "black consciousness," we should encourage it.

Measured integration is very literally irrelevant, since integration assumes the integrity of the dominant (white) culture. "Black consciousness," on the other hand, understands very deeply the exploitativeness of that culture and seeks to make a beginning in reconstructing it. We agree, then, with SNCC in asking why Negroes cannot seek to live and rebuild where they wish, in their own schools, with their own economic base, without being dismissed as "racist."

Some liberal and radical critics argue that SNCC's strategy will be frustrated by the sheer fact that Negroes are a minority, even in large portions of the Deep South. To this we say that the responsibility for that frustration would lie with those whites who fail to build white movements that can at some point ally with the black movement for common goals. Whites in the civil rights movement have almost always been auxiliaries, and at the present stage they could easily frustrate the Negro movement unless they recognize the right and the need for black radicals to organize independent bases of power in Negro communities. Power means the ability to act autonomously; it is a truism that the power of black communities is limited to the extent it depends directly on white help. (This is not the only factor to be considered when the white radical thinks about organizing Negroes, but we cannot dispute its importance.)

Finally, SNCC has been critized for having a position on the Vietnam war, in the first place; and second, for having the position it does, one of deep and wholehearted opposition. But we applaud SNCC for recognizing that the enemies of deep-seated

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BLACK POWER DEFINED

Comments by Stokely Carmichael, Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Over the years, SNCC has been concerned above all with making changes in the daily life of impoverished Southern Negroes--basic changes, not "tokenism." Almost from its start, in 1960, SNCC realized that political and economic power was the key to this and that Negro-controlled political groups must be formed to achieve it.

Disenfranchisement, maintained by racist terror, made this impossible at that time. The right to vote had to be won, and SNCC workers addressed themselves primarily to winning the vote from 1961 to 1965. That struggle was eased, though far from won, with the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. SNCC workers could then address themselves to the logistics of self-determination: getting a Negro sheriff into office, winning power.

Black power means that in Lowndes County, Ala. (80% Negro), for example, if a Negro is elected tax assessor, he will be able to tax equitably and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving Negroes. If elected sheriff, he can end police brutality. Where black people lack a majority, it means proper representation and sharing of control. On the state or national level, it means that black people can say to white authorities, "We need X million dollars to fix our roads, and we have X million votes behind us." Without power, they can only say "Please--we need it."

The thrust of our program today is, therefore, political organizing to win that power. This will vary according to the situation in each community. In Atlanta, Julian Bond is running in the Democratic primary--but with an independent platform geared to the needs of his constituents. In certain Alabama counties, we found that Negroes did not feel they could win redress with the Democratic Party--the party of George Wallace, "Bull" Connor and Al Lingo; the party whose Chairman in one county was a man accused by the federal government of evicting Negroes for registering to vote. We therefore helped form freedom organizations which nominated independent candidates for county office on May 3 of this year--also the date of the Democratic primary. Because of an Alabama law which could have been used to invalidate the freedom conventions on the grounds that people cannot vote in two primaries, SNCC advised Negroes in the freedom party counties not to vote in the Democratic primary. (This decision was interpreted by the press as a boycott on voting altogether.)

Harry Belafonte discusses plans for benefit concert with Bob Cook, Bob Zellner and AIM office workers.

We seek, then, to create power bases which can make important changes in daily life on a local level and go on to change statewide or nationwide patterns of oppression through negotiation from strength rather than weakness. Negroes cannot form political alliances with the white community until they have that strength and until there are whites with whom they can form coalitions--which is not the case in the Deep South today. But it is one of our hopes and goals to encourage poor whites to build a base with which poor Negroes may eventually combine their strength.

Essential in the process of organizing Negroes to win power is the conquest of fear and the development of "black consciousness:" self-respect, pride in the history of black people, our culture and institutions. We must change the attitude expressed by an Alabama Negro who voted for the white sheriff on May 3, saying 'We aren't ready to have a colored sheriff. The white folks wouldn't have liked that a bit."

The acquisition of political power responsible to black people is the current stage in our struggle to create a society in which people can make free choices as equals about all aspects of their daily lives. This is our goal and our concept of integration. Too often the goal "integration" has been based on a complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, Negroes must move into a white neighborhood or go to a white school. What does this mean? First of all, it reinforces among both Negroes and whites the idea that "white" is automatically better and that "black" is by definition inferior. Secondly, it allows the nation to focus, for example, on a handful of Negro children who finally get by Southern racist mobs and into white schools, and to ignore the 94% who are left behind in unimproved, all-black schools. Such situations will not change until Negroes have political power--to

READERS GUIDE TO LBJ'S ASIA POLICY

by Victor Lippit

(telephoned July 12, 1966 from the White House to a meeting of the American Alumni Council in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia)

Johnson: "In Asia and in Africa and in Latin America...we see the thirst for independence, the struggle for progress...In all these regions we, too, have a very big stake."

Translation: We support the right of all nations to choose their own governments, as long as our right to veto their choice is respected. We support the struggle for progress, as long as our right to invest freely in other countries is not challenged. As in the Dominican Republic, we are prepared to invade any country too weak to fight back and to select an independent government for it.

Johnson: "As long as the leaders of North Vietnam really believe that they can take over the people of South Vietnam by force, we just must not let them succeed."

Translation: We took over the people of South Vietnam when the French left in 1954. They are ours.

Johnson: "We are trying to demonstrate that guerrilla warfare, inspired by one nation against another nation, just can never succeed."

Translation: We are richer than anyone else. We can make more planes and more napalm. We can hire mercenaries. As guerrillas must have the support of the population, we shall eliminate the population. We are trying to demonstrate that modern arms can crush any popular rebellion. Our direct intervention will prevail over the influence of those nations involved in aggressive inspiration.

Johnson: "We are fighting a war of determination. It may last a long time."

Translation: Don't think that because your kids are in elementary school, they won't have a chance to go to Vietnam.

Johnson: "The untold story of 1966 is the story of what free Asians have done for themselves."

Translation: A free Asian is any individual living in a country susceptible to U.S. influence and investments. True freedom is most apt to be found where military dictators, bolstered by American arms, are able to establish the order and tranquility necessary to protect the people from themselves.

Johnson: "Dean Rusk has just returned from a trip through the Far East. He told me...of many of the heartening signs he saw...Indonesia and its more than 100 million people have already pulled back from the brink of Communism and economic collapse."

Translation: The slaughter of between 300,000 and 500,000 communist civilians under Indonesia's new military dictatorship is a hopeful example of what free Asians, with American assistance, can do for themselves.

Johnson: "Because we have been firm, because we have committed ourselves to the defense of one small country, other countries have taken new heart. And I want to assure them tonight that we never intend to let you down."

Translation: If the arms we ship to unrepresentative governments are insufficient to keep their populations in line, we will intervene directly ourselves.

Johnson: "Lasting peace can never come to Asia as long as the 700 million people of mainland China are isolated by their rulers from the outside world."

Clarification: As isolation of China is an American policy (non-recognition, prohibition of trade, exclusion from the U.N.), Johnson evidently counts himself as one of the rulers of China.

Johnson: "A hostile China must be discouraged from aggression...We have learned in our relations with other such states that the weakness of neighbors is a temptation and only firmness that is backed by power can really deter power that is backed by ambition.

Clarification: (Except for a small number of soldiers helping to repair American-bombed communication facilities in North Vietnam, China has no troops stationed abroad.) Weak neighbors are those that are susceptible to ideas which have crossed national boundaries without passports properly validated by the U.S. State Department. If these ideas do not go back where they belong of their own accord, then we will send in planes and tanks to drive them back.

Johnson: "For many years now the United States has attempted in vain to persuade the Chinese Communists to agree to an exchange of newsmen as one of the first steps to increased understanding between our people."

Clarification: The basic issue dividing China and the United States is that of Taiwan. A province of China before the Japanese seized it in 1895, Taiwan was returned to China by agreement of the Allied powers in 1945. It is recognized as part of China by most countries, including the United States. Despite this, the United States uses armed force to prevent China from exercising sovereignty over its province of Taiwan. It is not ignorance or the absence of newsmen, but this fact together with the American attempts to isolate China noted above, the American invasion of Vietnam (North and South) and the possibility of an American invasion of China, that hinders rapprochement between China and the United States.

Johnson: "Only today we here in the Government cleared a passport for a leading American businessman to exchange knowledge with Chinese mainland leaders in Red China."

Clarification: The businessman is G. William Miller, president of Textron, Inc. In 1965 aerospace and defense (read offense) accounted for 35% of Textron's sales of $851 million. On April 13, 1966 the Bell Helicopter Co., a wholly owned subsidiary of Textron, announced that it had received Army contracts totaling $160,420,000 for production of UH-1B and UH-1D Iroquois helicopters and Huey Cobras.

The speech from which the above quotations were taken was described in the New York Times, July 13, 1966, under the headline "Johnson Offers Eventual Amity to Chinese Reds." May the aspiration for the Love of Lyndon guide the ignorant Chinese onto the paths of righteousness.

COOK PROPOSES 30 MAN BOARD

New Haven is under court order to reapportion its aldermanic wards to give citizens equal representation. A "bipartisan" Charter Revision Commission has recommended that the Board of Aldermen be reduced from its present 33 members to 10, with $2500 annual pay for the now uncompensated position. Seven of the 15 Commission members also submitted three minority reports, two calling for 20 members and one for 33. Since the sparsely attended public hearing June 30 when Bob Cook presented the following statement, the Board has voted to recommend 30 aldermen with no compensation. The Commission is now preparing its final report, which, if approved by the Board of Aldermen, will be submitted to the voters in November. There is very little public interest in this reapportionment. We suggest that both the lack of interest and the Commission's proposals promise further deterioration in the relevance of genuine democracy to New Haven's politics.

STATEMENT

Proposals for a 10-man Board of Aldermen are in response to a very real and very serious need in our city. Democracy, the participation of all our citizens in the day-to-day decisions which affect our lives, is on the wane. All of us, not least those in office, feel a growing apathy. The traditional American belief that what this country is all about is people working together to solve their problems and to mold their lives to fit their dreams--that vision of America is disappearing, replaced by a growing hopelessness in the face of apparently uncontrollable events. One of the results of this hopelessness is the rapid deterioration of the city life which has been occurring all around us. It is hoped that this streamlining of the Board of Aldermen will make the representatives of the people better able to cope with the problems of modern New Haven, and especially that it will reclaim for the people's representatives their rightful place in directing the city executive. The method proposed to bring about this return of popular control, however, will do the opposite: it will make democracy less of a reality.

First of all, the proposed ten wards are in no sense equal. The Charter Revision Commission uses 1960 census figures which showed that the proposed wards range from 13,600 to 17,140 people. But by 1964, the City Planning Commission compiled figures showing that the range then --two years ago--was 10,300 to 18,800, and more recent figures show that the largest proposed ward has almost three times as many registered voters as the smallest. As Alderman Guida points out in his minority report, the population is not likely to stabilize soon.

More important than mere numbers is the way the districts have been drawn to divide neighborhoods. With the exception of the proposed 8th ward in the heart of Dixwell-Newhallville, Negroes--in the West Rock area, in the Hill and on Grand Avenue, even in parts of Dixwell--have been systematically divided to prevent them from electing their own representatives. The Negro people constitute almost a quarter of New Haven's population now. It is absurd and undemocratic that their particular problems will not be better represented on this proposed new Board of Aldermen.

Despite the millions of dollars which have been poured into urban renewal and Community Progress, Inc., New Haven's ghetto problem is becoming worse, not better. We believe the major reason for this is that Negroes in New Haven are kept powerless by the two major parties. This reapportionment plan will continue that powerlessness at a time when Negroes in several parts of the city are beginning to assert their rightful place in deciding what our city should be like. It is interesting that we can create political districts which split up the Negro neighborhoods and subordinate them to white majorities even though we cannot create integrated school districts.

It is not only the Negroes who will be frozen out by the new plan. The same is true of many of the city's white areas, especially traditional ethnic-group neighborhoods such as parts of the Hill, Wooster Square, and the 13th and 14th wards. The people in these areas have their own particular problems too, and it is vital that they maintain the representation they have had.

What must we do? The important thing that each of us as individuals, but especially the major parties and the city bureaucracy, must decide is that we can make democracy work. The American dream is gone if poor people and black people and retired people and, indeed, all people give up on trying to live their dreams in cities which belong to them, cities which they have made beautiful and human places to live. The fact that most other cities have small city councils is hardly a recommendation: most American cities are in bad shape and getting worse, and we have no need to copy them. The people of New Haven need to regain their confidence that the city is theirs to shape as they need to, that they are not at the mercy of some nameless, faceless bureaucracy which tears down neighborhoods uncontrollably and replaces them with nothing that helps the people who most need help. Our problems are getting worse, not better. They are getting worse because people don't care much any more, and people don't care because they can have little effect when they do care. Representative government means less and less.

We do need to revitalize our Board of Aldermen. We propose that there be 30 aldermen, elected from wards created by dividing each of the ten state representative districts into three distinct wards, with attention to putting together groups of people with common interests.

Aldermen with constituencies of that size would have at least the possibility of remaining close to the needs of their people. But if they are to matter, if people are to think them important, they must be able to deal on an equal footing with the city bureaucracy. We would carry the excellent idea of compensation a step further: the position of alderman should be a full-time, paid job. Only then will the alder-

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war crimes cont.

subjected to indiscriminate death and destruction from American bombs, be even more furiously angry and with much more reason.

Every time we escalate the war, President Johnson tells us that if we punish the other side severely they will get discouraged and quit. Apart from the immorality of this policy, it stretches belief that canny old LBJ actually believes this. The natural human reaction is to hit back harder than ever at your tormenter. And this is what the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam have done. Similarly Johnson's policies have provoked the threatened trials. Daily we bomb North Vietnam which is powerless to strike back at U. S. in kind, 10,000 miles away. But the fliers are at hand. Johnson provoked the trials, and we can be sure that if they are held he will use them as an excuse for a further escalation of the war.

sds on sncc cont.

social change at home are the enemies of revolution abroad, and for acting to forge alliances with the oppressed in the Third World. We are saddened to see presumed internationalists attacking SNCC for articulating its solidarity with their brothers--whether in Guatemala or South Africa or Vietnam--and we intend to work closely with them in making international contacts: without sectarianism, but also without illusions as to the real position of America in the world, or for its own poor and powerless.

cook proposes cont.

men be able both to study the immensely complex problems which the paid city bureaucracy grapples with every day and to keep in close touch with their constituents--surely 5000 people are plenty for one man to try to represent. And only then, too, will a poor man be able to take his place beside the rest in making the decisions which affect him and his neighbors. That is what democracy means.

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